

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 039254

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR, DA, XF

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MIDDLE EAST TRIP

1. PURSUANT DUNNIGAN-JAWKINS TELCON,
AMBASSADOR MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING EXPLANATION OF
SECRETARY'S MOST RECENT MIDDLE EAST TRIP FOR AMBASSADOR'S
FEBRUARY 24 CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER K. B.ANDERSEN.

-- A. SECRETARY'S LATEST VISIT TO MIDDLE EAST WAS
ESSENTIALLY EXPLORATORY--TO FOLLOW-UP ON DIPLOMATIC CONSUL-
TATIONS OF RECENT MONTHS WITH KEY MIDDLE EAST GOVERNMENTS
AND, THROUGH DIRECT TALKS WITH LEADERS OF THOSE GOVERN-
MENTS, TO SEE WHETHER POSSIBILITY EXISTS TO NEGOTIATE
FURTHER AGREEMENTS IN THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS TOWARD A
MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT.

-- B. OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT SUCH A POSSIBILITY DOES
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IN FACT EXIST AND THAT PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS SECRETARY

VISITED--EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND ISRAEL--
WANT US TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS. SECRETARY THEREFORE
PLANS TO RETURN TO AREA IN FIRST HALF OF MARCH FOR A
MORE INTENSIVE AND CONCRETE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

-- C. WE FOUND GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH OUR VIEW THAT IT
WOULD BE BETTER TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE--WHICH

WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT AS THE FRAMEWORK AND FORUM FOR AN
OVERALL SETTLEMENT--IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THERE HAD FIRST
BEEN ANOTHER CONCRETE STEP ON THE GROUND. IN THE ABSENCE
OF THE MOMENTUM SUCH A STEP WOULD GENERATE, WE BELIEVE
RETURN TO GENEVA WOULD LEAD TO ALMOST CERTAIN STALEMATE,
WITH ALL THE FRUSTRATIONS AND DANGERS THAT WOU
D INVOLVE.

-- D. THE MAIN ISSUES TO BE DEALT WITH IN THIS ROUND
ARE (1) TO RECONCILE EGYPT'S NEED FOR A SIGNIFICANT ISRAELI
WITHDRAWAL, WITH ISRAEL'S NEED FOR RECIPROCAL POLITICAL
UNDERTAKINGS BY EGYPT THAT WILL REASSURE ISRAELI OPINION
THAT A FURTHER AGREEMENT REPRESENTS A GENUINE MOVE IN THE
DIRECTION OF NON-BELLIGERENCY AND PEACE; (2) TO REASSURE
SYRIA--AS WE HAVE SOUGHT TO DO--THAT IT WILL NOT BE EX-
CLUDED FROM THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS AND THAT THE STEP-
BY-STEP APPROACH IS NOT DESIGNED TO DIVIDE THE ARABS ONE
FROM ANOTHER; AND (3) TO KEEP THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN
REPRESENTATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS--FOR WHICH WE RECOGNIZE
A SOLUTION MUST BE FOUND AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME--FROM
BEING INJECTED PREMATURLY INTO THE PICTURE, SINCE THE
PLO'S REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF A RECOGNITION
OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST UNDERSTANDABLY MAKES IT AN
UNACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATING PARTNER TO ISRAEL.

-- E. DURING THE FEW WEEKS BEFORE THE SECRETARY'S
NEXT TRIP, WE HAVE ASKED THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED TO
REFLECT HOW THESE ISSUES CAN BE MANAGED. MEANWHILE, WE
ARE IN TOUCH WITH THE SOVIETS AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE TO COMPARE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SITUATION AND TO
MAKE CLEAR OUR RECOGNITION THAT ANY FINAL SETTLEMENT WILL
REQUIRE COOPERATION, SUPPORT AND POSSIBLE GUARANTEES
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BY BOTH OF US. THE SECRETARY'S MEETING IN GENEVA
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO WAS FOR THIS PURPOSE.

-- F. THERE ARE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES
AT WORK WHICH INHIBIT FREEDOM OF ACTION OF ALL PARTIES
CONCERNED. AT SAME TIME, A POWERFUL FACTOR FAVORING
FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS THE AWARENESS OF
THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE AND OF PROLONGED STALE-

MATE, NOT ONLY FOR THE REGION BUT FOR THE WORLD.

2. FOR DUBLIN: YOU MAY DRAW ON FOREGOING IN CONTEXT OF
US-EC NINE CONSULTATIONS TO BRIEF IRISH, IN THEIR CAPA-
CITY AS PRESIDENT OF EC, FOR INFORMATION OF EC NINE.

3. BEGIN FYI. FOREGOING WAS ALSO PASSED BY AMBASSADOR
STRAUSZ-HUPE TO SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON ON
FEBRUARY 18 PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR CAIRO. END FYI.
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